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The PCB, party of the working class, composed principally of workers, is fighting for the complete economic, political, and social emancipation of Brazil; to insure guarantees of the most effective democracy for the people; to improve the conditions of life, labor, and culture for the working class and for the entire laboring population, to the point of abolishing all forms of exploitation and oppression; and to insure the ever-increasing development and progress of the country and its forces of production.

The PCB will work to curtail the exploitation of the country by foreign colonizing capital and by internal reactionary forces in whatever forms they may be manifest, be they monopolies, concessions, privileges, or loans contrary to national interest--insisting on the right to defend, above all other considerations, the highest interests of the Brazilian people, its existence as such, its liberty, and its future.

The FCB will also carry out an active and persistent work for the release of peace and cooperation among the nations and for strengthening the world unity of peoples, maintaining fraternal relations with all movements of national liberation and with the world movement against wars of conquest and colonial exploitation

The PCB will fight for the exploitation of land by modern methods; for the division and distribution of abandoned land without charge to the farming masses, principally near the large centers; for aid to the small agricultural property holder; and for the overthrow of the semi-feudal regime under which the farmers and other agricultural laborers live—defending the vital interests of Brazilian agriculture against usury and the state of barbarism and ignorance reigning in the country.

The PCB will fight, with all means within its power, for public liberties and the privileges of the citizen inherent in every regime which is truly democratic; it will fight for victory and the full development of democracy: it will

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fight for a democratic constitution which will be scrupulously respected and complied with; it will oppose stubbornly all attempts to crush or restrict the liberties granted in it.

The PCB will fight in defense of the home and the family, working to the end that each family may be able to count on the indispensable resources of well-paid labor for its support and a happy life.

The PCB will also fight for the emancipation of women, for the recognition of all the rights which are denied them; it will fight for the protection of children, the old, and the infirm; it will fight in defense of youth, its education, health, and well-being; it will fight for the development of science, art, and culture.

The PCB will fight for a truly popular government, whose rule of action would be the realization of a minimum program of national union, leading the people in the fight to obtain the political and moral defeat of what remains of reaction and of fascism.

The PCB's mission will be the continuance of the heroic revolutionary fight which our people are waging for the freedom and progress of the country, a fight started in colonial Brazil by Tiradentes, and continued by many others to the present. The Party will fight untiringly for the unity of the working class and for national unity, always looking forward to the progress and independence of Brazil and the liberty and culture and well-being of its people, on the way to the historical development of society for the abolition of all exploitation of man by his fellow man, with the establishment of ownership by the people of the means of production.

To attain these aims, the PCB establishes the basic rules of its organization in the following statutes:

## CHAPTER I

## NAME, AIMS, EMBLEM, AND HEADQUARTERS

Art. 1. The PCB, founded on 25 March 1922 at Rio de Janeiro, is a civil society existing for an indefinite period, having branches throughout all the national territory.

Art. 2. The PCB, political vanguard of the working class, is a single organized unit, held together by a conscious discipline, equally binding on all Party members, and has as its prime objective the organization and education of the working masses of Brazil within the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Art. 3. The PCB's emblem is the hammer and sickle crossed within a circle, above the words "Partido Comunista do Brasil."

Art. 4. For legal purposes, the PCB's headquarters will be in the capital of the Republic and will be represented by its Secretary General.

Art. 5. The members of the PCB are not individually responsible for the obligations assumed by the Party.

## CHAPTER II

## PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Art. 6. A member of the Party is one who accepts its program, its statutes, and its discipline, who belongs to and is active in one of its units, pays the necessary dues, and puts into practice the policies and resolutions of the Party.

1. The Party cannot have any inactive members except with the authorization of the appropriate State Committee or of the National Committee.

2. Party members changing their residence or place of employment will be transferred from one unit to another according to the procedure established by the National Committee.

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Art. 7. Any native-born or naturalized Brazilian over 18 years of age, regardless of race, color, sex, or religious belief, can become a member, on the condition that he recognize the historic role of the proletariat and show proof of loyalty to the working class.

Those under 18 can be accepted as members of the Party so long as they are self-supporting.

Art. 8. To become a member, the candidate must be proposed by a member who has been a militant member for at least a year. The proposal for admission, signed by the candidate and the person proposing him, will be introduced by the person proposing, to the cell to which he belongs for discussion and decision. The accepted candidate will be considered a member of the Party after he has repeated the following oath before the members of that group:

"I promise the most devoted loyalty and complete dedication to the sacred interests of the working class and the people. I promise, too, to work actively for the defense of democracy and for peace and the decisive downfall of fascism, for the disappearance of all forms of national oppression and exploitation of man, until socialism is established. With this objective I solemnly swear to remain faithful to the principles of the PCB; to fight to the extent of my ability, which I will always try to increase, for its (the PCB's) unity, and for its growth; to work tirelessly in the fulfillment of its program."

## CHAPTER III

## RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF PARTY MEMBERS

Art. 9. The first duty of each Party member is to make all acts of his public and private life conform to the principles and program of the Party and to adjust his Party conduct carefully to the observance of its statutes and regulations.

Art. 10. Each Party member must uncompromisingly look out for the Party's unity, fight energetically against the slightest attempt to divide the Party, and observe Party discipline without hesitation.

Art. 11. Each Party member must belong to the union of his profession or other organization of the masses related to his work or activity. He must respect the democratic decisions made there and must contribute in all possible ways to strengthening and developing the organization.

Art. 12. Each Party member who has a right to vote must register and vote in all elections for the candidates, slates, or programs indicated by the Party.

Art. 13. No Party member can maintain relations, personal, family, or political, with Trotskyites or with other recognized enemies of the Party, the working class, and the people.

Art. 14. Each Party member has the right and duty to participate, within the Party's principles and the rules of the statutes, in developing the Party's political line and the resolutions of the unit to which he belongs.

Once a decision has been made within a Party unit, discussion of the matter may be reopened only by a decision of the majority of that unit or by a higher governing body.

Art. 15. Each Party member has the right to vote for, and be elected to, the governing bodies of the Party.

Art. 16. Each Party member has the right to criticize any member at Party meetings.

Art. 17. Each member has the right to demand his personal participation when his activity or conduct is being discussed.

Art. 18. Each Party member has a right to appeal disciplinary decisions concerning him to all the higher bodies, including the National Committee of the Party.

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Art. 19. Requests for discharge or renunciation of militant members who occupy responsible posts can be granted only by the body to which they are responsible, after consultation with the body immediately superior.

## CHAPTER IV

## INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

Art. 20. The members of the Party can be punished for violation of the statutes and regulations, for disciplinary infractions, for financial irregularities, for conduct or acts against the working class and the people. In accordance with the responsibility and importance of the militant member and the nature and gravity of the errors which he has committed, the punishment will be public censure and expulsion from the Party.

Art. 21. The Party member who, without satisfactory reason, is three months in arrears in the payment of his dues will be denied all Party privileges until he pays the debt.

Art. 22. The Party member who, without satisfactory reason, is five months in arrears in the payment of his dues must be notified in writing in accordance with the terms of Art. 23 and requested to settle his financial obligations with the organization.

Art. 23. The Party member who, without satisfactory reason, does not pay his dues for six months will be excluded from the Party by the cell to which he belongs. He can obtain readmission during the next six months by paying his dues if he has not, during this period, engaged in any activity contrary to the political line of the Party or to the interests of the working class and of the people.

Art. 24. Any person, Party member or not, can present accusations against Party members, sending them in writing to the respective cell or any Party Committee. Both persons will enjoy the fullest right to speak and present proof, including that of calling witnesses and making declarations before the Party committees by which these cases are heard.

Art. 25. The Party members who are proved to have betrayed the working class, and the confidence placed in them by this class and the Party; those guilty of causing schisms; habitual drunkards; those who give proof of moral degeneration; those who are guilty of acts of opportunism (*aventurismo*) or of class degredation; provocateurs, terrorists, those who advocate and put into practice the theory of struggle by groups as the method of action of the Party and of the working class and the people, will be summarily relieved of their posts, expelled from the Party, and publicly denounced.

Art. 26. Individual disciplinary measures can be applied by any governing body of the Party against any member under its jurisdiction, except expulsion, which may be proposed, discussed, and approved by the Party cell, but can become effective only after approval by the competent State Committee or by higher echelons.

A member of the National Committee can be expelled by this Committee from its ranks, or expelled from the Party, only after the Plenary National Committee convoked to act upon the application of such a measure, approves it by a two-thirds vote of its number.

## CHAPTER V

## PARTY STRUCTURE

Art. 27. The guiding principle of the Party's organic structure is democratic centralization, which means:

- a. Elective character of all of the Party's governing bodies without exception;
- b. Obligation of the Party's governing bodies to give information periodically on their activity and conduct before the various organizations of the Party;
- c. Strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the

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d. Unconditional respect and obedience on the part of bodies of lower rank to the resolutions of those of higher rank;

e. Criticism and self-criticism in all the bodies and organizations of the Party.

Art. 28. The PCB plan of organization is the following:

a. National governing bodies: National Congress, National Conference, National Committee;

b. Governing bodies in each State or Territory: State or Territorial Conference, State or Territorial Committee;

c. Governing bodies in each Zone: Zone Conference, Zone Committee;

d. Governing bodies in each Municipality: Municipal Conference, Municipal Committee;

e. Governing bodies in each District: District Conference, District Committee;

f. Governing bodies in each business establishment or municipal district (barrio): Cell Assembly, Cell Secretariat.

The governing bodies of the Federal District are: the Metropolitan Conference, the Metropolitan Committee.

Art. 29. The hierarchy of authority, responsibility, and appeal of decisions is as follows: Cell Secretariat, Cell Assembly, District Committee, District Conference, Municipal Committee, Municipal Conference, Zone Committee, Zone Conference, State Committee, State Conference, National Committee, National Conference, National Congress.

Art. 30. The Cell Assembly elects a Secretariat, and the Conferences and the Congress elect Committees to operate as their executive bodies, and thus direct all the work of the respective organizations.

Art. 31. Within the bounds of the regulations of the Party given above, each organization has the right to exercise full and complete initiative in the matters under its jurisdiction.

Art. 32. The National Committee will furnish all the other governing bodies of the Party with documents indicating the scope of their respective jurisdictions.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE NATIONAL GOVERNING BODIES

Art. 33. The highest unit of the PCB is its National Congress. This Congress is to meet ordinarily every two years, called by the National Committee to:

a. Discuss and adopt resolutions on the reports of the National Committee;

b. Establish the general political and organic line of the Party and pass all basic resolutions necessary to the life of the Party;

c. Elect the Party's National Committee.

Art. 34. Extraordinary National Congresses can be held on the initiative of the National Committee, or on the petition of a number of Party organizations, representing at least two thirds of the total number of Party members.

Art. 35. The National Congress is composed of the delegates elected at the State Conferences. The number of delegates by State depends on the number of members and on the importance of the State organization. The National Committee determines the basis for that representation.

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Art. 36. During the two months prior to each Congress, all Party organizations will simultaneously discuss all the material and important problems which are to be brought up in that Congress. During that time, all Party organizations have the right and the duty to make decisions and observations on the proposed resolutions prepared by the National Committee for the Congress. The Party members, likewise, enjoy the fullest right to reopen discussion on any point of Party policy, as well as on the work of the governing Committees and on their future composition.

Art. 37. The decisions of the Congress are final and cannot be revoked except by another Congress. All members and units of the Party must recognize the authority of its decisions and the Directorate elected by it.

Art. 38. The Congress determines the numbers of active and alternate members on the National Committee. Only those Party members who have been active in the Party for at least three consecutive years can be elected to that Committee. At the Plenary National Committee meetings, the alternates have a right to speak, but not to vote. The alternate has a right to vote at the meetings of the National Committee at which he is present as a substitute for an active member who is absent.

Art. 39. In the period between two Congresses, the highest governing body of the Party is the National Committee. It is responsible for applying the statutes and must put into practice the general policy adopted by the Party's Congress. The National Committee represents the entire Party and has full powers, between Congresses, to make decisions on every problem which comes up in the Party. It organizes and controls the different committees, directing all their political and organizational work; it names and removes the managers of the Party's national press, who work under its guidance and control; it appoints the Party's candidates for elective office for the entire country; organizes and orients the whole Party in respect to important problems and undertakings; it disposes of the Party's forces and takes care of its finances.

Art. 40. The National Committee should meet at least every four months and can, when it deems it timely, call supplementary National Conferences, the basis of representation for which will be established by the National Committee. The National Conference will be composed of delegates elected at plenary meetings of the State Committees. Its resolutions are valid only after being ratified by the National Committee. The Conference can, however, without the National Committee's approval, substitute alternates for up to one fifth of the active membership of the National Committee and complete the number of alternates by election.

Art. 41. The National Committee elects from its ranks an Executive Committee and a Secretary General, and names the Secretaries and Committees which become necessary for the efficient development of the entire work of direction.

1. The National Committee sets the number of members of the Executive Committee. In order to be a member of that Committee, as well as to be eligible to be manager of any national Party publication, it is necessary to have been active in the Party for at least five consecutive years.

2. The task of the Executive Committee is to carry out the decisions and the work of the National Committee between two of the latter's meetings. The Executive Committee is responsible to the National Committee for all its decisions.

3. The Secretary General of the Party in his own right belongs to the Committees to which this Article refers.

4. The Secretary General of the Party and the other Secretaries to which this Article refers will make up the National Secretariat, which will operate as the day-to-day operational Directorate of the Party.

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## CHAPTER VII

## DISCIPLINARY MEASURES AGAINST PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Art. 42. Any Party organization which fails to comply with the Party's resolutions or commits other serious offenses against Party unity and discipline will be punished, in the first place, by a warning, and, if this is ignored, by dissolution of that organization.

Art. 43. Infractions of discipline on the part of the Party's Committees and Secretariats will be punished by the dissolution of these bodies, and the body immediately superior will hold elections to reorganize them.

## CHAPTER VIII

## FINANCES IN GENERAL

Art. 44. The Party's financial resources consist of the dues of its members, the profits of the Party's business enterprises, and other possible income and revenue.

Art. 45. The National Financial Committee and a Treasurer, named by the National Committee, and directly responsible to the latter Committee, will be charged with all matters relative to the administration of Party funds. The State, Zone, Municipal, and District Committees and the Cell Secretariats will, in turn, name their respective financial officers.

Art. 46. Party members will regularly pay minimum monthly dues of Cr\$2.00, with the following exceptions:

- a. Farm workers and women who work exclusively as housewives will contribute a minimum of Cr\$1.00 a month;
- b. Those receiving a wage between Cr\$500.00 and Cr\$1,000.00 a month (inclusive) will pay 1% of their monthly wage;
- c. Those who receive a wage between Cr\$1,000 and Cr\$2,000 a month (inclusive) will pay 2% of their monthly wage;
- d. Those who receive a wage above Cr\$2,000 will pay 3% of their monthly pay.

Militant members who have an agreement with the National or State Committee regarding extra contributions will still pay the minimum dues to their cells.

Art. 47. The National Committee will reserve for the national expenses of the Party 60% of the money received from ordinary dues and will distribute the remaining 40% among the State, Zone, Municipal, and District Committees and the Cell Secretariats, in accordance with the regulations to be established.

Art. 48. The National Committee, and with previous authorization of the body immediately above, the rest of the governing bodies, may within their respective jurisdictions, establish extraordinary dues of a provisory nature, in order to meet certain financial needs.

Art. 49. The National Committee may carry on all legal activities which it may consider opportune to obtain funds to meet the needs of the Party.

Art. 50. The financial situation of the Party will be checked through the auditing and approval of the accounts of the National Committee, the State, Zone, Municipal, and District Committees, and the Cell Secretariats by the respective Congress, Conferences, and Cell Assemblies.

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## CHAPTER IX

### AMENDMENTS TO THE STATUTES

Art. 51. These Statutes can be amended:

a. By decision of the National Congress, when the proposed amendment has been publicized in the Party's press and the National Committee's discussion bulletins at least 30 days before the opening of the Congress;

b. By a resolution of the National Committee, when the amendment has as its purpose compliance with new laws of the country.

Art. 52. The amendments which the National Committee puts into effect will be published in the Party press and will continue in force until the Party's Congress rules definitely on them.

## CHAPTER X

### PARTY REGULATIONS

Art. 53. In order to establish uniform methods and procedures for the efficient operation of the various units of the Party, the National Committee will, in accordance with these statutes, impose necessary rules. These rules can be modified, whenever the National Committee considers it suitable, or when the National Congress so decides.

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